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seems no doubt that clandestine intercourse has very much increased in frequency of late years, and is no longer regarded as seriously as it used to be. This was stated so emphatically and by so many different people in different localities, that there must be some truth in it. It is safe, I think, to say that the taking of the right to exact the death penalty out of the hands of the native *tsunaun*, consequent upon the rule of the white man, has resulted in a general slackening of observance of the customary laws. Another factor which undoubtedly plays a part in the increase of adultery is the absence of many of the younger men, who go away to work as indentured labourers. They may be absent, under the present regulations, for three years. The young wives usually continue to live with their own relatives, unless the mother-in-law keeps them with her, and in either case, they not infrequently console themselves with the young men of the place. The discouragement of polygamy has also some influence—and will in future have more—on the increase in extra-marital intercourse.

At the present time a very considerable amount of illicit love-making certainly takes place, in fact there were probably few couples, in the villages known to me, of which one or other, if not both, was not, or had not at some time been, engaged in an affair of this kind. Sometimes the meetings are arranged by a third party, either man or, I think more usually, woman, sometimes they are planned directly between the lovers themselves. As one man put it: 'The man says to the woman: "To-morrow I will have you again. You come and wait for me here." The next day the woman's husband says to her: "Come, you and I will go to work." She says: "No, I can't, I am ill." But she is only pretending to be ill. Then her husband goes alone to work, and she goes to join her lover in the bush.' Here is a story giving the other side of the picture, as told by a woman:

Night came, the husband and wife went into their hut. They went to bed, the woman went to sleep, but the man only pretended to sleep. Presently he got up very quietly, he went outside, he went to the other woman, the one he wanted. His wife woke up, she looked at the bed, her man was not lying on it, the bed was empty. Then she cried, she cried about her husband, she cried, and cried, and cried. Then she got up and took up her husband's bed, and carried it outside, then she broke it all to bits. A woman said: 'Why is she breaking the bed?' Another

[727] 6. To announce the killing of a prisoner of war (to be eaten):

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[484] 7. To collect a party which is to go on a journey at night:

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[881] 8. To announce that one of the *upi* ceremonies is to be held:

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9. At a certain stage in the girl's puberty ceremony:

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10. If a man is angry about something, e.g. if another man 'steals' his wife:

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11. To indicate the number of pigs killed for a feast, or the number of strings of ceremonial currency which changed hands at some special occasion, e.g. at marriage, or on account of the building of a new *tobar*. All such quantities are shown by giving one long slow beat for each pig, or string of currency, &c., involved in the transaction.

Other occasions on which the *garamuts* is beaten are as follows:

[476] To call the villagers together for some piece of communal labour, such as cleaning up the coco-nut groves or working on the road.

To announce the completion of a special piece of work, such as the building of a *tobar*.

[681] To announce a punishment by shooting, when a man has committed an offence for which he is sentenced to stand on the beach to be shot at by the other people.

[304] At a certain stage in the process of cicatrization.

[881] At various stages in the preparations for the *watawutf* ceremony.

On one occasion a man had gone into the bush with his dogs to hunt pig. In the evening the dogs returned without him. The *garamuts* was beaten with long slow beats to give him his direction, in case he was lost in the bush.

It is sometimes sounded for no other apparent reason than that the village is happy because there is a plentiful supply of food. One day it was thus beaten because every one had had a feast of breadfruit.

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'we are forbidden'. Many examples of such taboos are scattered throughout the pages of this book, in their appropriate context. Those who break them incur the risk of certain penalties, usually of a very definite and specific kind. To give two examples chosen at random, if the father of a new-born child fails to observe the taboos on his activities which anthropologists call, collectively, couvade, the child will die; if a small child eats sugar-cane, warts will appear on his skin. Sometimes the breaking of a taboo by an individual is thought to involve the whole village in its consequences. In any case the offender incurs the displeasure of the community, which is a very real punishment, even if it does not (as it may) go so far as to lead to the making of 'poison' against him. The sanctions appear to be chiefly, if not exclusively, social. I never heard that any of these taboos were prescribed by the *urat* nor are there in my collection of myths and legends any purporting to account for them.

While the actual practical effect of the taboos on the natives is to cause them to refrain from certain actions through fear of consequences, the effect of magical procedure in general is the positive one of giving 'moral support'. I am sure, from watching the demeanour of hunters before and after a rite has been performed, that it does, in fact, increase their chances of success by increasing their confidence. The same thing applies to love magic, and to the measures for the treatment of sickness, call them medicine or magic as you will. As a not unimportant side-issue, it may be noted that in the case of public ceremonies such as that performed for the planting of the new taro garden, there is also the advantage that they are festive occasions, eagerly anticipated long beforehand, and enjoyed in retrospect long afterwards, and further, that they tend to foster a feeling of social solidarity in the members of the group. Taking it by and large, all the positive side of magical procedure with its associated ideas seems to work for the good of native society, and it would appear that efforts on the part of the whites to stamp it out cannot but react to the disadvantage of the community. But, on the other hand, there seems no room for doubt that the fear of black magic casts a great shadow over the existence of each and every individual, a shadow from the oppressive influence of which he is never wholly free. His lot would be vastly happier if this could be removed, but so deep-rooted is his belief that I doubt if any measures that could possibly be devised

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to practise, cannibalism, these people never ate human flesh merely to appease hunger, or as a relish to taro, as other flesh food is eaten. There must always be some sanction behind the consumption of man. With these natives, it was done as an insult or as a punishment, or as a necessary adjunct to certain ceremonies, and the usual victims were enemies taken in war. The distinction is perhaps a subtle one, since those who have eaten human flesh freely admit that they enjoyed it, and although raids seem to have taken place for a variety of reasons, it seems not unlikely that some excuse might readily be found for undertaking one when the desire for a taste of human flesh became strong. It will be remembered that the staple diet of these folk is vegetarian, and that, at the present time, their greatest luxury in the way of food is pigmeat.

One raid was certain to be reciprocated by another, and thus was started a chain of retaliatory raids, first by one side and then by the other, till one or other party tired of it and offered ceremonial currency to compound the feud. They would then say to the other party: 'All right, let us finish now, let us be good friends now. We will come down to see you, and you will come up on top (i.e. into the mountains) to our place.' It will be noted that it is the mountain people who are represented as being the side to ask for a cessation of hostilities, the account coming from the people of a coastal village.

Pinari, *tsunaun* of Kurtatchi, told me the following details of a raid in which he had taken part. He could give me no idea how long ago it was.

The people of Gogoiv (a village on Buka) killed two men, Waripa, a *tsunaun*, and another man who was a commoner, while they were shooting fish from a canoe. Both men belonged to Tiop. The rest of the people were away at one of the *upi* ceremonies. The people of Tiop asked us to help avenge them. A *tsunaun* from Tabut came with me, and we went and raided Gogoiv and killed a man, and took him in a canoe to Tiop, and we all ate him there in revenge for Waripa.

An account of the cooking of a prisoner was given me by an old man at Sapoea who had himself taken part in such affairs.

People used to go out to fight, they would come to a village, they fight, they set fire to the village at night. They see a fine man, they kill him, they take him home and hang him up to a tree. They put paint on him and ornamental plants, they comb his hair. He stinks, but that does not matter, they eat him just the same, the fire makes him good. He stays

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727 266 hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They singe his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into slices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohen*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg, and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

266 It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy, had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never [858 562] allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given was 'because they were frightened'.

266 565 766 614 Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to the rank of *tsunaun* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47) and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my notice.

266 681 Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as follows:

266 684 In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the relation of *watfitfio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment of both from the village.